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## **Dressing a Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: Toward Understanding the Composition of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii***

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### **Abstract**

The *Life of Alexander Nevskii* is written in two styles: a hagiographic style and a secular style. Scholarly views are divided over whether the *Life* was written by one person in two different styles or by two persons, either a hagiographic writer and secular editor or a secular writer and hagiographic editor. The present article hypothesizes that the *Life* was probably written initially in a secular style as a military tale (the “wolf”) in the second half of the thirteenth century. This *Tale* was the foundational layer for the subsequent writing of the *Life*. Some time later, probably in the second half of the fourteenth century (before 1377), an ecclesiastical redactor edited the text adding phrases in a hagiographic style (the “sheep’s clothing”), thus creating a chronicle tale about the life of Alexander Nevskii. In the second half of the fifteenth century, a further editing took place as anti-Tatar interpolations were added, thus creating the First Redaction of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*. Following a text critical analysis, this article reconstructs the First Redaction of the *Life*, in which the two styles are delineated. Then the article provides a translation into English of the hypothetical version of the non-extant military tale about Alexander Nevskii.

### **Keywords**

Alexander Nevskii, military tale, saint’s life, hagiography, reconstruction, textual criticism

A number of investigators have pointed out that the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* juxtaposes hagiographic and secular elements. They have, however, interpreted that combination in different ways in regard both to the authorship question and to how the *Life* was composed.

In the following article, I present my own hypothesis that the composition represented a three-step process. My goal is to shed light on the origins of this singular literary composition. It seems to me that a complete secular military tale was written in the second half of the thirteenth century as a celebratory exposition of Alexander's military achievements and glory (the "wolf" of the title of this article). Then, some time later, perhaps in the second half of the fourteenth century (before 1377) an attempt was made to transform that secular military tale into a saint's tale (повесть о зэитии) by adding pious sentiments and religious topoi (the "sheep's clothing"). Only in the second half of the fifteenth century was the final form of the text we know as the First Redaction of the *Life* completed with the addition of anti-Tatar interpolations.

In 1915, Nikolai Serebrianskii proposed that the *Life* was written by "a younger contemporary of the prince, a monk of the Rozhdestvenskii monastery" and that it "was written not for placement in a chronicle but for church use." Thus, he sees the hagiographic elements as preceding many of the secular elements added later, such as the sections pertaining to the six brave men at the battle on the Neva and the khan of the Eastern Country.<sup>1</sup> In 1968, Norman Ingham described in some detail the relationship of the styles; namely, that, although the framing of the text is hagiographic, the middle parts "are distinctly secular in substance and style." The military events are told as they would be in a military tale but with a "few pious" sentiments subjoined. Like Serebrianskii, Ingham deemed it probable that the author was a monk. In contradistinction to Serebrianskii, Ingham thought this same monk adopted a standard style for describing military matters and did not need to borrow from a secular work or have it added by someone else. Thus, the author, according to Ingham, wrote the *Life* in two distinct styles.<sup>2</sup>

In 1974, John Fennell also detected two styles in the *Life*: "the hagiographical passages are distinct from the annalistic episodes, but sometimes religious sentiments are tacked on to purely military clichés."<sup>3</sup> The first example he cited of this adding on of "religious sentiments" is the description of

<sup>1</sup> N[ikolai] Serebrianskii, *Drevne-russkie kniazheskie zhitiia. Obzor redaktsii i teksty* (Moscow: Sinodal'naia tipografiia, 1915), 178–180.

<sup>2</sup> Norman Ingham, "The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian," in *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague, 1968, August 7–13*, 2 vols., edited by William E. Harkins (The Hague: Mouton, 1968) 1: 193–194.

<sup>3</sup> John Fennell, "Literature of the Tatar Period (13th–15th Centuries)," in John Fennell and Anthony Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), 113.

Alexander's "returning victorious (*vozvratisya s pobedoyu*)" after the battle on the Neva—the author of the *Life* tacks on the phrase "praising and glorifying the name of his Creator."<sup>4</sup> The second example Fennell cited is Alexander's treatment of the enemy after he razed the fortress that the Livonian knights had built "on Alexander's land": "some he killed, others he took with him, and others he pardoned and let go." The author of the *Life* adds, "for he was merciful beyond measure."<sup>5</sup> Also, like Ingham, Fennell thought this was the work of only one individual, "a cleric" who could write in both the style of hagiography and in the style of the chronicle military tale.<sup>6</sup> Yet, Fennell implies this may have been a two-step process with the adding-on of pious sentiments to a secular text occurring within an overall hagiographic framework. Fennell pointed to the entry in the *Povest' vremennykh let* (PVL) for 1019 and the "Paroemia" of Boris and Gleb, both of which texts describe the Al'ta battle of 1019, as a possible model for the secular parts of the *Life*.<sup>7</sup>

Also in 1974, Serge A. Zenkovsky, like Serebrianskii but in contrast to Ingham and Fennell, attributed the two styles to different individuals. Yet he reversed Serebrianskii's order of stylistic composition; namely, a secular author, who was a "feudal warrior," and a later redactor, who was "some ecclesiastic from the city of Vladimir." For his determination that a military tale written by a warrior is at the core of the *Life*, Zenkovsky cited three pieces of evidence: (1) the title, "Tale of the Life and Courage of Prince Alexander," is uncommon for a saint's life; (2) the author's reflection on the demise of Alexander—"A man may leave the house of his father but he cannot leave the house of his good lord; and if he has to, he should share the coffin with him"—is befitting of someone who owed secular allegiance to Alexander; and (3) the description by the author of the particulars of the deeds of those in Alexander's army shows that whoever wrote the *Tale* "[p]robably... knew many of the prince's warriors..." The redactor, in Zenkovsky's view, inserted quotations from and allusions to the Bible while altering the

<sup>4</sup> Iu. K. Begunov, *Pamiatnik russkoi literatury XIII veka "Slovo o pogibeli Russkoi zemli"* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 168.

<sup>5</sup> Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 169.

<sup>6</sup> Fennell, "Literature of the Tatar Period," 110–111.

<sup>7</sup> Fennell, "Literature of the Tatar Period," 113. Vilho Mansikka and S. A. Bugoslavskii had previously mentioned this possibility. Vilho Mansikka, "Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo (Razbor redaktsii i teksty)," *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti*, 180 (St. Petersburg, 1913), 43; S. A. Bugoslavskii, "K voprosu o pervonachal'nom tekste zhitia vel. kn. Aleksandra Nevskogo," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk*, 19 (1915): 277.

“narrative and stylistic unity” and rearranging things in an unsystematic manner.<sup>8</sup>

In 1979, A. D. Stokes, after discussing the arguments for and against their being genre of military tales in early Rus', proposed that the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* had been originally written as a military tale that is no longer extant. According to Stokes, military tales may not have conveyed “a religious message.” Once, however, the land of Rus' fully adopted Orthodoxy, “the defenders of Rus' became also defenders of the faith, their martial exploits could acquire a religious significance.”<sup>9</sup> He hypothesized that military tales “that praised the exploits of long-dead heroes in long forgotten struggles would hardly have been of interest to later copyists” so they modified them for “contemporary purposes.” As a result, in his view, no pure military tale is extant, but they exist in “adapted ‘adulterated’” form in which “it is difficult now to discern the true nature of the genre behind layers of later accretions.”<sup>10</sup>

In the present article, I take further Stokes' proposal that the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* developed from a military tale by attempting to reconstruct that no-longer-extant version of the tale. In contrast to the example of the *Tale of the Destruction of Riazan'*, which Likhachev, Fennell, and Stokes saw developing from a bare chronicle account to military tale to a religious tale, I propose that the military tale was used as the basis for the chronicle tale about the saintliness of the life of Alexander Nevskii. The chronicle tale was later modified into the First Redaction of the *Life*. In addition, I incorporate Zenkovsky's suggestion that a secular author and a subsequent ecclesiastical redactor were responsible for the composition of the work we know as the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*. In doing so, I am not denying the possibility that one

<sup>8</sup> Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed., *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, revised and enlarged edition (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 224–225.

<sup>9</sup> A. D. Stokes, “What Is a Voinskaia Povest'?” *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 13, nos. 1–2 (1979): 50.

<sup>10</sup> Stokes, “What Is a Voinskaia Povest'?” 51. Likhachev provides the developmental stages of the *Tale about the Destruction of Riazan'* in *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1949), 123–142; D. S. Likhachev, “Lituratsiia sud'ba ‘Povesti o razorenii Riazani Batyem’,” *Issledovaniia i materialy po drevnerusskoi literatue*, ed. V. D. Kuz'mina (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1961), 9–22; and D. S. Likhachev, “K istorii slozheniia ‘Povesti o razorenii Riazani Batyem’,” *Arkheograficheskii sbornik za 1962 god (K 70-letiiu akademika M. N. Tikhomirova)* (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1963), 48–51. Cf. John Fennell, “‘Military Tales’ of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in Fennell and Stokes, *Early Russian Literature*, 88–96.

writer—whether secular or ecclesiastic— could write in both secular and hagiographic styles. I am saying, however, that, in this particular case, the circumstance that the secular passages together form a coherent unity (see below), the positioning and wording of the pious sentiments in an awkward manner in relation to the secular passages, and certain structural peculiarities of the *Life* tend to corroborate Zenkovsky's hypothesis of a secular author and ecclesiastical redactor. I have argued elsewhere that the author wrote a secular tale sometime between 1263 (the year of death of Alexander) and the 1290s when the author would have been in his 50s (if one supposes he had been a young man in his 20s in the 1260s). I based this age estimate on the opening lines of the *Tale* concerning how he had been an eyewitness, while growing up, to some of the events he describes and that he obtained other information about Alexander from “my fathers” (“отъ отецъ своихъ”).<sup>11</sup> The author also claims that he heard about the details of the Battle on the Neva “from my Lord the Grand Prince Alexander and from others who at that time took part in that battle.”

Fennell cited of two pious motif interpolations, but one can ask how many more of the pious expressions were added during the process of redacting the *Tale* into the *Life*. My resulting hypothetical reconstructions (see appendices A and B) are an experiment in progress. I wanted to see how much of the religious wording and other interpolations of the *Life* it was possible to eliminate and still have a text that made sense. Somewhat surprisingly, I found that all the religious components could be dispensed with and a coherent narrative remain. Whether the original military tale about Alexander Nevskii had no, a few, or many religious components I cannot say. Some scholars may consider this exercise to be pointless, for they may, as Ingham and Fennell did, see only one author of the *Life*, which was written then as a complete work at one time (although Fennell does seem to imply a kind of two-step process could have been involved). Other scholars may agree that two individuals—an author of the core military tale and a redactor who added hagiographic phrases—are involved but are unwilling to accept that the military tale was written without any expression of pious sentiments. They are welcome to add back religious components as they see fit, but I hope that, when doing so, they will provide reasons for what they are restoring.

<sup>11</sup> See my “Redating the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*,” in *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom Revisited: Essays in Russian History and Culture in Honor of Robert O. Crummey*, edited by Chester Dunning, Russell E. Martin, and Daniel Rowland (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2008), 23–39.

The First Redaction of the *Life* is extant in full or in part in 13 MS copies (one of which dates to 1377, two of which date to the second half of the fifteenth century, seven to the sixteenth century, and three to the seventeenth century). The MSS that contain the First Redaction of the *Life* are listed here in alphabetical order according to the sigla that Begunov assigned them:<sup>12</sup>

- *A* = RGB, sobranie Moskovskoi dukhovnoi akademii, fond 173, № 208 [ca. 1550];
- *Ap* = GAAO, sobranie rukopisnykh knig, № 18 [1550–1575];
- *E* = GIM, sobranie E. V. Barsova, № 1413 [ca. 1600];
- *B* = RGB, sobranie Iosifo-Volokolamskogo monastyria, fond 113, № 523 [1550–1575];
- *I* = IRLI, R. IV, op. 24, № 26 [ca. 1550];
- *Ie* = RNB, F. IV. № 2, fols. 168–169<sup>v</sup> [1377] (first part only);<sup>13</sup>
- *M* = GIM, Muzeiskoe sobranie, № 1706 [1550–1575];
- *O* = RGB, sobranie A. N. Ovchinnikova, fond 209, № 281 [ca. 1650];
- *II* = GAPO, sobranie Pskovo-Pecherskogo monastyria, fond 449, № 60 [1450–1475] (beginning and end only);
- *IIi* = RNB, sobranie M. P. Pogodina, № 641 [1550–1575];
- *Iic* = GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie, № 154, fols. 156–162<sup>v</sup> [end of 15<sup>th</sup> century];<sup>14</sup>
- *P* = RGB, sobranie Olonetskoi seminarii, fond 212, № 15 [1625–1650];
- *Y* = GIM, sobranie A. S. Uvarova, № 279 [1650–1675].

Five versions of the First Redaction of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* have been published.<sup>15</sup> In 1882, Archimandrite Leonid (L. A. Kavelin) published the *Life* from the MS. Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy (MDA), no. 208

<sup>12</sup> Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 16–17, 159, and “Arkheograficheskii obzor,” 195–212.

<sup>13</sup> Laurentian Chronicle. For the best publication, see *PSRL*, vol. 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leningrad: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1926), vyp. 1: cols. 477–481; reprint edition in *PSRL*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> Synod copy of Pskov II Chronicle. For the best publication, see *Pskovskie letopisi*, 2 vols., ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1940, 1955), 2: 11–16; reprint edition in *PSRL*, vols. 4–5 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> For a list, see Iu. K. Begunov, “K voprosu ob izucheniiia Zhitia Aleksandra Nevskogo,” *TODRL* 17 (1962): 348–349.

(A).<sup>16</sup> In 1913, Vilho Mansikka also published the *Life* from A.<sup>17</sup> Neither Leonid nor Mansikka provided a critical apparatus of readings from other copies. In 1915, Serebrianskii published *II* and *P* in parallel columns with variants from A.<sup>18</sup>

Also in 1915, S. A. Bugoslavskii, in a review of Mansikka's book provided the first publication of the *Life* with a critical apparatus of readings from multiple copies.<sup>19</sup> Bugoslavskii used Mansikka's diplomatic edition of A as his copy text and provided variants from seven copies: *Je*, *Ic*, and *II* from already published versions; *II* from the MS; and *B*, *P*, and *Y* from readings for those copies that Mansikka gave in his monograph. Bugoslavskii noted that, because Mansikka did not provide all the readings from *B*, *P*, and *Y*, his (Bugoslavskii's) readings from those MSS "are not able to be fully exact."<sup>20</sup> Instead of altering the copy text, Bugoslavskii separately proposed three pages of improvements to it.<sup>21</sup> In suggesting these improvements, Bugoslavskii depended mainly on agreements of *Je* and *Ic* where *Je* is extant, and on agreements of *Ic* and *II* where *Je* is not extant. Begunov was dismissive of Bugoslavskii's publication: "The attempt of S. A. Bugoslavskii at publishing the 'original' redaction of the *Life* according to the Academy copy (MS. GBL, MDA, № 208, XVI c.) with introduced variants from other copies is hardly able to be considered successful."<sup>22</sup> Furthermore: "The publication of S. A. Bugoslavskii was not exact: the variants are provided from the cited text in Mansikka's monograph and not from the manuscripts."<sup>23</sup> This criticism is a little harsh since Bugoslavskii acknowledged that the readings for three of the copies he used were incomplete and based on whatever he could glean from Mansikka's comparisons, but the readings for the other four were complete, being based on three published versions and one de visu examination of the MS. For 50 years, until Begunov's editions superceded it in 1965,

<sup>16</sup> Archimandrite Leonid, *Skazanie o podvigakh i zhizni sv. blagovernogo velikogo kniazia Aleksandra Nevskogo*, (St. Petersburg, 1882).

<sup>17</sup> Vilho Mansikka, "Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo (Razbor redaktsii i teksty)," *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti*, 180 (St. Petersburg, 1913).

<sup>18</sup> Serebrianskii, *Drevne-russkie kniazheskie zhitiia*, Teksty, 109–120.

<sup>19</sup> Bugoslavskii, "K voprosu o pervonachal'nom tekste Zhitiia velikogo kniazia Aleksandra Nevskogo," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi akademii nauk* 19 (1915): 277–289.

<sup>20</sup> Bugoslavskii, "K voprosu," 269–270.

<sup>21</sup> Bugoslavskii, "K voprosu," 274–276.

<sup>22</sup> Begunov, "K voprosu," 349, fn. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 13.



Bugoslavskii's was the best critical edition of the First Redaction available but was rarely cited.

In 1947, V. I. Malyshev published a diplomatic edition of *Л* with facsimiles of the first three folios (fol. 317–318).<sup>24</sup> In 1965, in an analysis of the relationship of the *Slovo o pogibele russkoi zemli* to the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, the researcher Iu. K. Begunov focused solely on the First Redaction of the *Life*. In order to depict the relationship of the known-by-that-time 13 copies of the First Redaction, Begunov constructed a three-branch stemma codicum

in which *Лв* occupied its own distinct branch (see figure 1).<sup>25</sup>

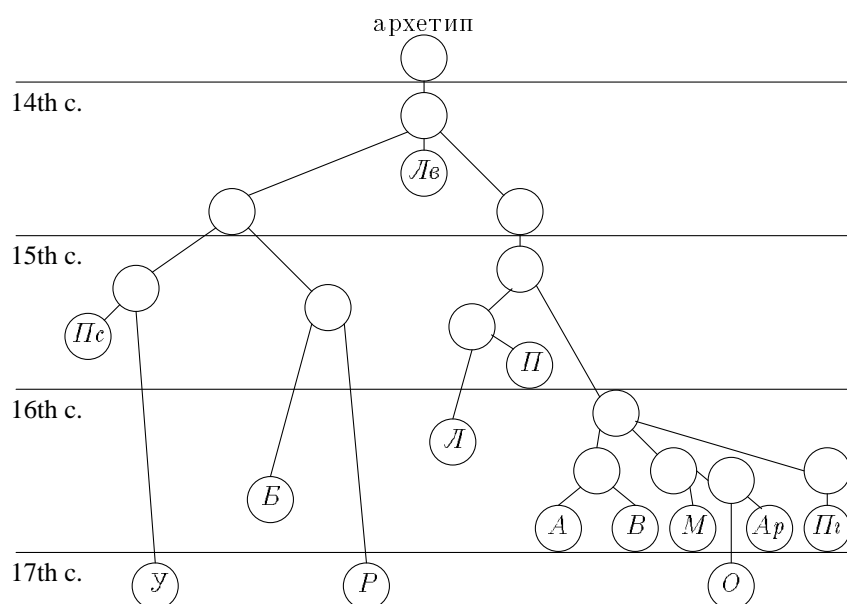


Figure 1 Begunov's stemma for the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*

The readings of *Лв*, thus, should have equal status in determining the archetype with the readings of the common protograph of *БПсРУ*, on one

<sup>24</sup> V. I. Malyshev, "Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo (Po rukopisi serediny XVI v., Grebenshchikovskoi staroobriadcheskoi obshchiny v g. Rige)," *TODRL* 5 (1947): 188–193.

<sup>25</sup> Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 65.

hand, and *АарВЖМОIII*, on the other hand. Begunov provided two edited versions of the text of the *Life*. In the first version, he presented a diplomatic edition of *Пс* with a full critical apparatus containing variant readings from the other 12 MS copies.<sup>26</sup> He corrected *Пс* only when he thought there was a scribal error in it. In the second version, Begunov “reconstructed” what he considered to be a text closer to the archetype of the *Life* than any single MS. He used *Пс* as his copy text and provided readings from other MSS only when he changed it.<sup>27</sup> Begunov did not follow his stemma in his reconstruction of the *Life*. For example, he added the word “домочадец” after the phrase “Понеже слышах от отецъ своих,” in the introductory paragraph of his reconstruction (187.3), although that word is testified to only by *Б* and *Р*. By the rules of stemmatics it could not have been in the archetype for it would require positing an independent dropping of that word in three different places in Begunov’s stemma—in *Лв*, in the protograph of *Пс* and *У*, and in the protograph of the right branch. As a result of this and similar counter-stemmatic changes,<sup>28</sup> his “reconstruction” turns out to be further from the archetype than his diplomatic edition of *Пс*.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 158–180.

<sup>27</sup> Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 187–194.

<sup>28</sup> See, in particular, adding “бе” in 187.12 on the basis of *У*, adding “же” in 189.55 on the basis of *БР*, changing “от Немець” to “их” in 190.12 on the basis of *МАР У*, adding “баше” in 191.25 on the basis of *ЛУ*, changing “Господи” to “Боже” in 191.28 on the basis of *БР*, adding “я” in 191.39 on the basis of *У*, adding “в ризах со кресты” in 191.41–42 on the basis of *БРУ*, changing “их” to “я” in 192.50 on the basis of *ЛБРУ*, changing “иже бѣ ему” to “ему же бѣ” in 192.52–53 on the basis of *РУ*, adding “на мир щедротами” in 192.70–71 on the basis of *БР*, adding “мира” in 192.72 on the basis of *БР*, adding “учить” in 192.73 on the basis of *БР*, changing “дивна” to “славна” in 193.75 on the basis of *ЛБР*, adding “царя” in 193.81 on the basis of *БР*, adding “господня” in 193.82 on the basis of *БР*, adding “до возшества нба небеса” in 193.83–84 on the basis of *БР*, adding “Уже бо не обрящется таковуй князь ни единъ в земли Суждальстей” in 194.83–84 on the basis of *БР*, adding “тяжка” in 194.99 on the basis of *Р*, changing “24” to “23 день” in 194.3–4 on the basis of *ПЛБРУ*, changing “хотя” to “хотеста” in 194.5 on the basis of *Р*, adding “Богу же нашему слава, прославльшему святая своя в веки векомъ. Аминь” in 194.8–8 on the basis of *ПЛУ*.

<sup>29</sup> In 1969, Begunov reprinted this version as a plain text in his “Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo,” on the even-numbered pages in “*Izbornik*.” *Sbornik proizvedenii literatury drevnei Rusi*, ed. L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1969), 328–343. It has no italics where he had changed his copy text, no footnotes, and no final hard signs on words. A translation into modern Russian appears on

In 1997, Michele Colucci reassessed Begunov's stemma and, although accepting for the most part the relationship of copies that Begunov proposed, made one major adjustment. Colucci moved  $\mathcal{J}_B$  to the right ( $AApBJMOIII_i$ ) branch of the stemma (see figure 2). Thus, he argued, in effect, that  $\mathcal{J}_B$  should not be given its own equal status with the other two branches in determining primary readings, but that  $\mathcal{J}_B$  and  $AApBJMOIII_i$  (his *naa*) together determine readings that are equal in status to those of  $BIIcPY$  (his *yp*). He attributed those cases where the readings of *yp* agree with  $\mathcal{J}_B$  against those of  $AApBJMOIII_i$  to a secondary contaminative influence of  $\mathcal{J}_B$  on *yp*.<sup>30</sup> In addition, he attributes the agreements  $\Pi$  and  $\mathcal{J}$  with  $\Pi c$  and  $\mathcal{Y}$  to a contamination of *n* on *y*. Colucci pointed out that Begunov did not use his own stemma in reconstructing the text of the *Life*.<sup>31</sup> Not using a stemma, even though one was diagrammed, usually with the designation "a schema of the relationship of copies," was typical for Soviet textology, which, following D. S. Likhachev, held that a using a stemma to help determine readings was "mechanistic textology."<sup>32</sup> Colucci also expressed doubt about

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the odd-numbered facing pages. In 1981, for the series *Pamiatniki literatury drevnei Rusi*, V. I. Okhotnikova reprinted Begunov's reconstruction of the text of the First Redaction of the *Life* from his *Pamiatnik* with a commentary. "Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo, editing, translation, and commentary by V. I. Okhotnikova, in *Pamiatniki literatury drevnei Rusi: XIII vek*, ed. L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1981), 426–439, 602–606.

<sup>30</sup> M. Koluchchi [Michele Colucci], "Pervonachal'naia redaktsiia 'Zhitia Aleksandra Nevskogo': zametki po istorii teksta," *TODRL* 50 (1997): 252–260. Colucci's cases of when  $\mathcal{J}_B = na \neq yp$  are 162.8–11, 166.92–99, 167.42–43, 167.45–47, 167.51, 167.62–63, and 168.88–92. Of these, all but the first involve a lacuna in the left-branch's  $\Pi c$  and  $\mathcal{Y}$ , which presupposes their absent readings had they existed would have agreed with those of *E* and *P*. Even Colucci's first case is not entirely solid since *O* of the right branch agrees with *E* and *P* of the left. Colucci's cases of when  $\mathcal{J}_B = yp \neq na$  are 160.53, 161.17, 161.28, 161.51, 163.97–100, 163.1–2, 165.41, 165.52, 166.93, 166.6, 166.12, 167.18, and 168.12. Of these, 166.93, 166.6, 166.12, and 167.18 also involve a lacuna in  $\Pi c$  and  $\mathcal{Y}$ , and 165.52 involves an idiosyncratic reading of  $\Pi c$ . The idiosyncratic readings of  $\mathcal{J}_B$  that Colucci considers to have "real editorial significance" he gives as 166.8–86, 166.1–5, 166.97–99, and 167.25–26. Colucci numbers his cases according to the page number and variant of Begunov's critical edition (Begunov, *Pamiatnik*, 158–180).

<sup>31</sup> Koluchchi, "Pervonachal'naia redaktsiia 'Zhitia Aleksandra Nevskogo'," 253.

<sup>32</sup> See the section titled "Krizis literaturovedcheskoi mekhanicheskoi tekstologii," in D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiya. Na materiale russkoi literatury X–XVII vv.*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1962), 6–20; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leningrad:

Begunov's use of a "*codex interpositus*"—that is, a hypothetical intervening copy "between a manuscript (or group of manuscripts) and its protograph" (253). Use of such an intervening copy between the archetype and the readings suggested by the MS copies was also characteristic of Soviet textology. It allowed the modern editor to overrule the testimony of the MS copies by claiming readings for the archetype that were not supported by the MSS.

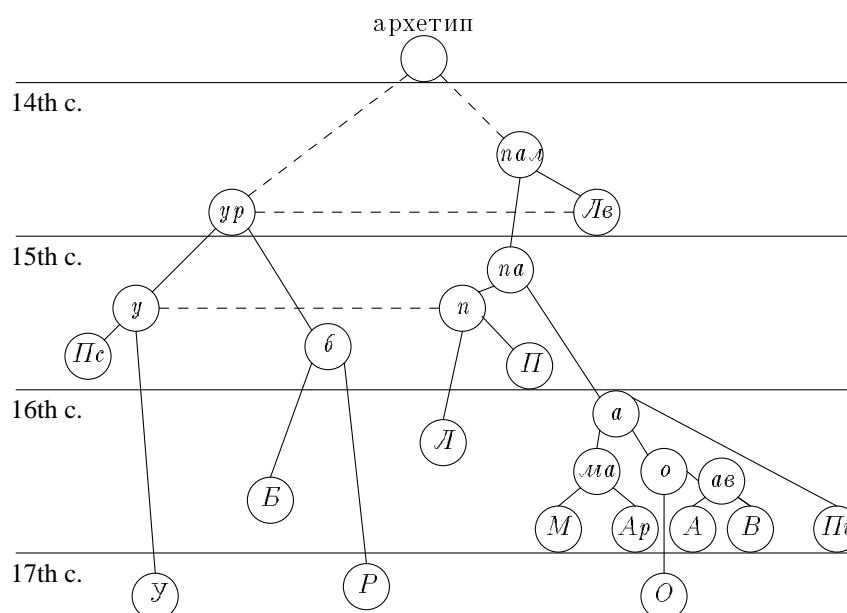


Figure 2 Colucci's stemma for the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*

Here I will limit myself to discussing briefly how I edited the text and why I chose to place *Лe* above the common protograph of all the other copies. In editing a text for publication, an editor has several options, which are dependent on the goal of the edition and on the relationship of the extant manuscripts to each other. As I wrote recently in the journal *Kritika*:

If one copy is clearly best representative of the archetype or authorial text, then it should be used as the copy text and variants provided from the other copies only to show the history of the development of the text. If no single copy is best and if the manuscript tradition is "open" (i.e., no clear genealogical relationship

can be established among the copies), then picking and choosing readings from different copies based on the knowledge, skill, and intuition of the editor is to be preferred. If the manuscript tradition is “closed” (i.e., a clear genealogical relationship can be determined), then a stemma should be used.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of the First Redaction of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, we have a hybrid situation in regard to the MSS. For the first 44.5% of the text of the *Life*, in my opinion, a “best” copy exists in *Ae*, but the last 55.5% of the text of the *Life* is missing in that copy. For the remainder of the text of the *Life* to the end, a closed tradition exists whereby no one copy is demonstrably better than all the others, although a clear genealogical relationship can be established. Thus, for the last part of the text, I resorted to a stemma to help determine the “best” (i.e., closest to the archetype) reading.

In Appendix A, I present my reconstruction of the First Redaction archetype. For the most part, my reconstruction is similar to the version of the First Redaction that Begunov edited and published in 1965. It differs from his version in two major respects. First, I used *Ae* for the copy text for the first part of the text and resorted to a stemma for the last part, whereas Begunov used *Πc* as his copy text throughout. Second, my understanding of the relationship of the MS copies to each other differs from his (see figure 3). As a result, in particular choice of words and phrases, I accepted the primacy of readings in the MS copies in a different hierarchical order; namely, where *Ae* is extant, I accepted the reading of *Ae* except to correct scribal accidentals; otherwise, I considered  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  to be of theoretical equal value in determining  $\beta$ . In practice,  $\delta$  tends to represent  $\beta$  more often. As Colucci demonstrated the readings of right-branch MSS are more often closer to *Ae* than are those of left-branch MSS. The agreements of *Ae* with *na* that Colucci sees as placing *Ae* in the right branch of the stemma might better be understood as occurrences of agreements of the right-branch copies with the primary reading of *Ae* ( $\alpha$ ). Thus, where *Ae* is not extant, I tended to favor the agreements of  $\delta$  (agreements of *Πi*, *A*, and *Π*) over  $\gamma$  (agreements of *Πc*, *Y*, *E*, and *P*), when the two disagree. Finally, I rarely looked to *III* alone or *AApEMO*, except

<sup>33</sup> Review of S. A. Bugoslavskii, *Tekstologiia drevnei Rusi*, 2 vols., compiled by Iu. A. Artamanov, vol. 1: *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 2: *Drevnerusskie literaturnye proizvedeniia o Borise and Glebe*, Moscow: Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur, 2006–2007; A. L. Nikitin, *Tekstologiia russkikh letopisei XI–nachala XIV vv.*, vypusk 1: *Kievo-Pecherskoe letopisanie do 1112 goda*, Moscow: Minuvshee, 2006; *Galitsko-Volynskaia letopis'.* *Tekst. Kommentarii. Issledovanie*, compiled by N. F. Kotliar, V. Iu. Franchuk, and A. G. Plakhonin, under the editorship of N. F. Kotliar, St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2005, in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, no. 4 (2008): 940.

insofar as they agree with  $\Pi_i$  or are able to correct some scribal accidental in  $\Pi_i$ . In the case of certain readings, this represents an almost complete reversal of Begunov's hierarchical placement and results in a reconstruction that is closer to the text that would result from Bugoslavskii's proposed improvements than either to Begunov's critical apparatus version or to his reconstruction. I also see contamination of the common protograph ( $\theta$ ) of  $\Pi_c\gamma$  on the common protograph ( $\epsilon$ ) of  $\mathcal{M}\Pi$ , whereas Colucci saw the contamination going in the opposite direction. Although I agree with Colucci in general terms concerning the dangers of using a *codex interpositus*, I propose having  $\beta$  as in effect an intervening hypothetical copy between the MSS and  $\alpha$  is justified here.

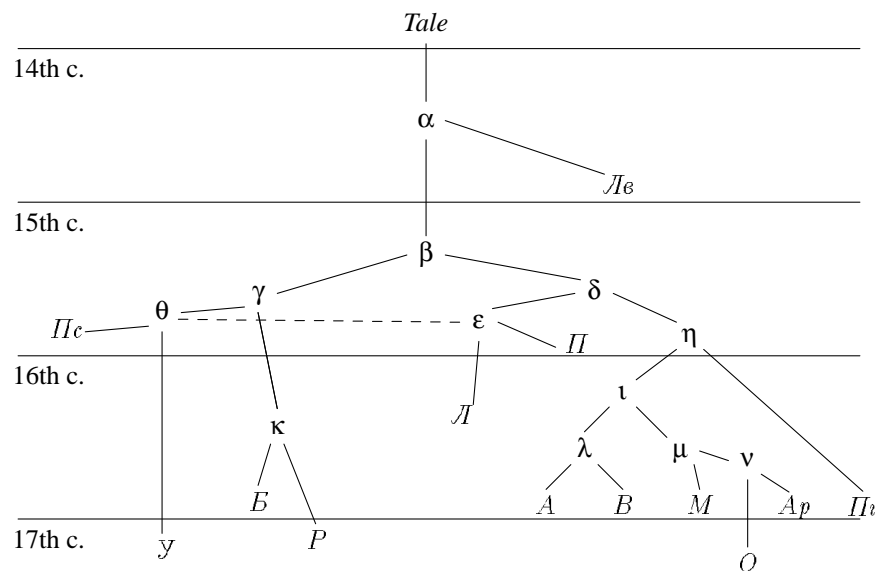


Figure 3 My preferred stemma for the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*

When turning the military tale into a saint's tale, the fourteenth-century redactor inserted new sections (indicated as the italicized parts in Appendix A). But, even then in the second half of the fifteenth century, three additional sections were interpolated (indicated with the bracketed designations C-1, C-2, and C-3 in Appendix A). Toward the end of the *Tale*, "a mighty khan of the Eastern Country" summons Alexander to him (section A-1 below). Then Alexander goes to Vladimir with his army. News of his coming reaches the

mouth of the Volga River, and the Moabite women frighten their children, warning them of Alexander's coming (C-1). He receives the blessing of Metropolitan Kirill to go to the khan (B-1). Alexander goes to the khan who honors him and lets him go (A-2). No explicit description of Alexander's return from the khan is given in the text of the *Life* at this point, as the reader is left to construe from the ensuing section that he did return. In that section, Khan Batu gets angry at Alexander's brother, Andrei, and sends his general Nevruy to devastate the Suzdalian land (C-2).<sup>34</sup> Alexander rebuilds the cities and churches and returns the refugees to their homes. From Alexander's rebuilding activities, the reader can suppose that Alexander had returned from his visit to the khan, unless he undertook the rebuilding of Rus' cities and churches from Sarai. A quotation from Isaiah 1: 16, 17, 23 and 56: 1–2 and a peroration about how God had endowed the land "with wealth and glory" follows.

Then the reader is told about the sending of a letter by the Pope to Alexander asking to be allowed to send two cardinals to instruct him in Catholicism, but Alexander turns the request down (B-2). In the next section, "foreign peoples" (*inoplemenniki*) are violently forcing the Rus' to serve in the ranks of the army, but Alexander goes to the khan and pleads with him not to drive his people into misery (C-3). The description that Alexander "went" (*poide*) to the khan is another indication in the *Life* that Alexander had returned from his previous trip. In the next section Alexander sends his son Dmitrii to the Western country, where he conquers some German land and takes the city of Iur'ev returning with prisoners and booty. The *Life* then abruptly begins to describe Alexander's return from the khan without transition. After the previous section describing Dmitrii's campaign in the Western country, the  $\alpha$  reading merely states: "Князь великий Александръ взыде отъ иноплеменникъ" ("Grand Prince Alexander went from the foreign peoples"). *ПсБПУ* attempt to smooth the transition from the previous section by adding the phrase "Отець же его" ("His father") at the beginning of the sentence.

The general assumption among scholars is that transmission of the text of the *Life* remained stable for almost 200 years after it was first composed, from ca. 1280s to the second half of the fifteenth century and that the First Redaction represents the late thirteenth-century version. Only then did

<sup>34</sup> As Zenkovsky pointed out, the campaign of Nevruy against Andrei Iaroslavich occurred under Batu's successor Sartaq. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, 233, fn. 27. For an analysis of the chronicle accounts of this campaign, see my "The Tatar Campaign of 1252," *Palaeoslavica* 17, no. 2 (2009): 46–64.

transmission become volatile with the text undergoing many changes over the course of the next 100 or so years. I have proposed that the text originally composed in the second half of the thirteenth century underwent a major transformation in the mid to late fourteenth century. What resulted was a sequence of nested insertions within a foundational layer framework; that is, these interpolations may have occurred in the mid to late fifteenth century when the First Redaction was created. I have designated that foundational layer with the letter “A”, the first layer of insertions with the letter “B”, and the second (later) layer with the letter “C”.

**A-1:** The khan summons Alexander

**C-1:** At the death of his father Iaroslav, Alexander goes to the city of Vladimir and news reaches the mouth of the Volga. Moabite women frighten their children by saying “Alexander the prince is coming.”

**B-1:** Alexander consults with Metropolitan Kirill who gives him his blessing to go.

**A-2:** Alexander goes to the khan, who renders him honor and lets him go.

**C-2:** Batu gets angry at Andrei and sends the general Nevruy with an army to ravage the Suzdal’ land. Prince Alexander rebuilds the destroyed churches and the cities gathering the home of the people who had fled during the invasion. Quotation from Isaiah.

**B-2:** The Pope writes to Alexander wanting to send two cardinals to teach him about the Catholic faith, but Alexander turns his request down.

**C-3:** The foreign people were violent forcing the Rus’ to serve in the ranks of the army, but Alexander goes to the Khan and pleads with him not to drive his people into misery.

**B-3:** Alexander sends his son Dmitrii against the Western land. Dmitrii conquers some of the German land and takes the city of Iur’ev, returning to Novgorod with prisoners and booty.

**A-3:** Alexander returns from “the foreign people” (“отъ иноплеменикъ”), goes to Nizhnii Novgorod, then Gorodets where he falls ill and dies.

Thus, if one reads sections A-1 / A-2 / A-3 one after the other, one has a complete narrative: Alexander is summoned by the khan, he goes to the khan, is



honored, and returns from the khan. This sequence is what I posit was the way the *Tale* originally read; that is, the foundational layer. The second (B-1), fourth (B-2), and sixth (B-3) interpolations were most likely added in the fourteenth century (pre-1377) when the military tale was turned into a saint's tale. Thus, one can read the sequence as A-1 / B-1 / A-2 / B-2 / B-3 / A-3 for the sequence as it probably was in the continuation of *Же*. The first (C-1), third (C-2), and the fifth (C-3) interpolations were most likely added in the post-1448 period, when anti-Tatar rhetoric began to pervade Church literature about the steppe people.<sup>35</sup> That is the sequence of the First Redaction as we now have it.

For the sake of consistency, I normalized the text throughout, which includes standardizing spelling, expanding abbreviations, adding front and back yers after superscript consonants in final position, and inserting modern punctuation. I have not provided variant readings, for which one may consult the diplomatic edition of *Же* with critical apparatus that Begunov edited and published in 1965. Those parts that I believe were added to the *Tale* to transform it into a *Life* are italicized. In Appendix B, I provide an English translation of the non-italicized parts; that is, of the *Tale* as it may have existed before attempts were made in the fourteenth century to turn the military tale into a saint's tale. Here we see a spare but structurally well-organized *Tale* with an introduction, in which the “thematic clue” is a story about a brave ruler; in this case, the Emperor Vespasian. Then follow three stories—the first involves a ruler from the Northern Country, the second involves a ruler from the Western Country, the third involves a ruler from the Eastern Country. The *Tale* closes with Alexander's death and a lament by the author. Into this foundational layer were added religious sentiments, biblical allusions and quotations, and digressive stories in the mid-fourteenth century to make the saint's

<sup>35</sup> See my *Muscovy and the Mongols*, 23, 138–141, 164–247. A case in point is the treatment of Nevruy's campaign in the chronicles. Early chronicles either do not mention it or state that he went against Andrei Iaroslavich and chased him beyond the sea. The Suzdal' Chronicle adds that “the Tatars scattered over the land” (presumably in search of Andrei) and “caused much misery when they left” (presumably because of the many captives, horses, and cattle they took). Later chronicles state that Nevruy went against the Suzdal' land as well. *PSRL* 1 (2nd ed., 1928), col. 524; 3 (2nd ed., 2000), 304; 6.1 (2nd ed., 2000), col. 327; 7: 159; 10: 138; 42: 118. Cf. John Fennell, “Andrej Jaroslavič and the Struggle for Power in 1252: An Investigation of the Sources,” *Russia Medievals* 1 (1973): 49–63.

tale, almost half of which appears in *Лв*, and then into the First Redaction in the second half of the fifteenth century.

## Appendix A

### *Житие Александра Невского*: Первая редакция (реконструкция)

*Того же мѣста.* Преставися великий князь Александръ сынъ Ярославль. Скажемъ же мужство и житѣе его. *О Господинъ нашѣмъ Исусъ Христъ Сынъ Божьи азъ худыи грѣшныи недостойныи начинаю писати житѣе великого князя Александра сына Ярослава внука Всеволожа* понеже слышахъ отъ отецъ своихъ и самовидецъ есмь възрасту его и радъ быхъ исповѣдалъ святое житѣе и честное и славное но яко же Приточнися рече «В злочитру душу не внидетъ прѣмудрость на высокыхъ бо краихъ есть посредѣ же стезь стояишетъ при вратѣхъ силныхъ приспѣдитъ».<sup>36</sup> *Аще и грубъ есмь умолю молитвою святое Госпожи Богородици поспѣшенѣе святаго князя Александра начатокъ положю.*

Си бѣ князь Александръ Богомъ роженъ отъ отца милостилюбца и мужелюбца паки же кроткаго князя великого Ярослава и матери святое Федосьи. *Яко же рече Исаия пророкъ «Тако млолетъ Господь: “Князи азъ учиняю священи бо суть азъ вождю”<sup>37</sup> я”».*<sup>38</sup> *Воистину без Божья бо повелѣнья не бѣ княженѣе его.* Но и възрастъ его паче инѣхъ человекъ, и глас его—якы труба в народѣ и лице его—аки лице Иосифа<sup>39</sup> иже бѣ поставилъ его Египетскыи цесарь втогаго цесаря въ Египтъ. Сила бѣ его—часть отъ силы Самсона. Дать бѣ ему Богъ премудрость Соломоню и храбрѣство же аки цесаря Римскаго Еспинана иже бѣ плѣнилъ всю Подъиюдѣискую землю и нѣгдѣ исполчися къ граду Атапату приступити и шедше гражане и оувидѣша полкъ его, и остася единъ, и, възврати силу ихъ ко вратомъ ко граднымъ, и посмѣяся дружинѣ своеи, и укори я, река: «Оставьте мя единого». Такоже и сии князь Александръ бѣ побѣжая а не побѣдимъ.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Wisdom 1: 4; Proverbs 8: 2–3.

<sup>37</sup> азъ вождю changed from а ввождю in *Лв*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Isaiah 13: 3.

<sup>39</sup> Иосифа changed from Есива in *Лв*.

И сего ради нѣкто силенъ отъ Западныхъ страны иже нарицаея слугы<sup>40</sup> Божья отъ тѣхъ приде, хотя видѣти дивный то возрастъ его яко же древле цесаря Ужская приходъ к Соломону хотящи слышати премудрость его. Такоже и се именемъ Андрѣашъ, видѣвъ князь Александръ возвратися к своимъ и рече: «Прошедъ страны, и языки, не видѣхъ такового и въ цесаря ни въ князихъ князя».

Се же слышавъ, король части Римское отъ полунощныя страны, такое мужство князя Александра и помысли в собѣ: «Да поиду плѣню землю Александрову». И собра силу велью наполни корабля многы полковъ своих подвижеся в силѣ тацѣ исполнися духымъ ратнымъ. И приде в рѣку Неву шатася безумьемъ, посла слы загордевъся ко князю Александру в Новѣгородъ рече: «Аще можеша противитися мнѣ то се есмь здѣ уже плѣню твою».

Александръ же, слышавъ словеса ихъ, разгорѣся сердцемъ и вниде в церковь святыхъ Софья, падъ на колѣну предъ олтаремъ, нача молитися со слезами: «Боже великий, и праведный Боже великий и крѣпкий Боже превѣчный создавы небо и землю и постави предѣлы языкомъ и повели жити не преступая в чюжую часть». <sup>41</sup> И възприимъ псалмъную пѣснь рече: «Суди, Господи, обидящихъ мя възбрани борющимся со мною, приими оружие и щитъ стани в помощь мнѣ». <sup>42</sup> Скончавъ молитву вставъ поклонися архиепископу. Архиепископъ же Спиридонъ благословеси его и отпусти. Он же выиде изъ церкви утирая слезы, и нача крѣпити дружину свою, и рече: «Не в силахъ Богъ но в правдѣ. Помянемъ Писнословца “Си во оружьи си на конехъ мы же во имя Господа Бога нашего призовемъ ти спяти быша и падоша мы же всташомъ прости быхомъ”». <sup>43</sup> И си рекъ поиде на ны в малѣ дружину, не сождавъся со мною силою своею, но уповая на святыю Троицу.

Жалостно же и слышати яко отецъ его, честный Ярославъ великий не бѣ вѣдалъ такого встанья на сына своего, милого Александра, ни оному бысть послати когда вѣсть къ отцю: еже бо ратнии приближишася. Тѣмже мнози Новгородци не

<sup>40</sup> слугы added.

<sup>41</sup> Deuteronomy 32: 8; 2<sup>nd</sup> Kings 19: 15.

<sup>42</sup> Psalms 34: 1–2.

<sup>43</sup> Psalms 19: 8–9.

совокупилися бѣша понеже ускори князь поити.

И прииде на ны въ день воскресенья, на память святыхъ отецъ 600 и 30 бывша збора в Халкидонѣ и святою мученику Кюрика и Улиты и святого князя Володимера крестившаго Русскую землю илѣаше же вѣру велику к тѣмъ мученикомъ Бориса и Глѣба.

И бѣ некто мужъ старѣишина в земли Ижерской<sup>44</sup> именемъ Пелуги поручено же бысть ему стража морская. Всприят же святое крещенье и живяше посреда роду своего погана суща. И наречено бысть имя его в святыхъ крещении Филипъ. Живяше богугодно в среду и в пятокъ пребывая въ алчбѣ. Тѣмъ же сподоби его Богъ видѣти видѣнье страшно во тѣ день. И скажемъ вкратцѣ.

Увидѣша силу ратныхъ, иде противу князя Александра, да скажетъ ему станы и обрѣтѣя ихъ. Стоящую же ему при краи моря, стрѣжаетъ обою пути, и пребысть всю ночь во бдѣньи. Якоже нача востодити солнце и слыша шюмъ страшень по морю и видѣ насадъ единъ гребущъ, посреда насада стояща мученику Бориса и Глѣба въ одеждахъ червленыхъ, и бѣста руцѣ держаста на рампѣ гребци же спѣяху аки милою одѣни. И рече Борисъ: «Брате Глѣбе, повели грести да поможемъ сроднику своему Александру видѣвъ же таковое видѣнье и слыша таковыи гласъ отъ мученику, стояшетъ трепетенъ, дондеже насадъ очью его.

Потомъ скоро приѣха князь Александръ, онъ же видѣвъ князя Александра радостныма очима исповѣда ему единому. Князь же рече: «Сего не рци никому».

Оттоль потщавъся наѣха на нь въ 6 часъ дне [в лѣто 6748].<sup>45</sup> Бысть съча велика надъ Римляны, и изби множество бесчислено ихъ и самыи королеви взложи печать на це острымъ своимъ копьемъ.

Здѣ же явишася 6 мужъ храбрыхъ [с самѣмъ с нимъ ис полку его].<sup>46</sup>

Единъ именемъ Гаврило Алексичъ сеи<sup>47</sup> наѣха на шнеку

<sup>44</sup> Corrected from Жжерской.

<sup>45</sup> Bracketed words are not in ААрБВЛМОПгПсРУ. ЛПг read: се же бысть в лето 6745.

<sup>46</sup> Bracketed words are unique to Лв. Others have: иже [Пг: и] мужествоваша [Пг: мужествовавшие; ААрМО: мужествовав; В: мужествовал] с нимъ [ЛПг: ними; АВ: им] крѣпко.

видѣвъ королевича мча под руку и възъѣха по досцѣ и до самого корабля по ней же хожаху с королевичемъ иже текоша передъ нимъ а самого емше свергоша и с конемъ в воду<sup>48</sup> з доски и *Божьею милостью* неврежень<sup>49</sup> бысть и паки наѣха, и бися с самѣмъ воеводою среди полку ихъ.

2 именемъ Сбыславъ Якуновичъ Новгородецъ, сеи<sup>50</sup> наѣха многажды на полкъ ихъ и бѣшется единѣмъ топоромъ не имѣя страха въ души своеи. И паде нѣколько отъ руку его и подивившася силѣ и храбрѣству его.

3-и Яковъ родомъ Полочанинъ ловчий бѣ у князя. Сеи<sup>51</sup> наѣха на полкъ с мечемъ и похвали его князь.

4 Новгородецъ именемъ Мѣша. Сеи<sup>52</sup> пѣшъ натече на корабли и погуби. 3 корабли з дружиною своею.

5-и Отъ молодыхъ его именемъ Сава. Сеи<sup>53</sup> вѣѣха<sup>54</sup> в шатеръ великий, королевъ золотоверхий и подѣсѣче столпъ шатерный. Полци Александрови, видѣвше шатра паденье възрадовашася.

6-и Отъ слугъ его именемъ Ратмѣръ. Сеи<sup>55</sup> бися пѣшъ и оступиша и мнози. Онъ же отъ многихъ ранъ паде и тако скончася. Си же вся слышахъ отъ господина своего великого князя Александра и отъ инѣхъ, иже в то время обрѣтошася в тои сѣчи.

*Бысть же в то время чюдо дивно, яко же во древняя дни при Езекии цесари, еда приде Сенахиримъ, Асурийскыи, цесарь на Иерусалемъ хотя плѣнити<sup>56</sup> градъ святыи Ерусалемъ внезапно изиде ангелъ Господинъ изби и отъ полка Асурийска 185 тысящъ. И въставше утро, обрѣтошася трупья мертвы вся. Также бысть при побѣдѣ Александровъ, егда побѣди короля обѣ онъ полъ рѣкы Ижжеръ, иде же не бѣ проходно полку Александрову. Здѣ*

<sup>47</sup> сеи changed from се in *Лв*.

<sup>48</sup> *ААрВЛМОП*: море; *БР*: Неву; *ППсУ*: lacuna.

<sup>49</sup> Corrected from невренъ in *Лв*.

<sup>50</sup> сеи changed from се in *Лв*.

<sup>51</sup> Сеи changed from Се in *Лв*.

<sup>52</sup> Сеи changed from Се in *Лв*.

<sup>53</sup> Сеи changed from Се in *Лв*.

<sup>54</sup> Corrected from вѣха

<sup>55</sup> Сеи changed from Се in *Лв*.

<sup>56</sup> плѣнити changed from пѣнити in *Лв*.

*обрѣтоша много множество избѣженныхъ отъ ангела Господина. И останокъ побѣже трупья мертвыхъ своихъ наметаша корабля истопиша корабля в мори. Князь же Александръ възвратишася с побѣдою, хвала и слава иля своего Творца Отца и Сына и Святого Духа.*

Въ 2-е же лѣто по возвращении с побѣдою князя Александрандра, паки придоша отъ западныхъ страны и възградиша<sup>57</sup> градъ въ отечествѣ Александровѣ. Князь же Александръ изыде на ня воскоре и изверже градъ ихъ из основаниа, а самехъ извѣша инѣхъ с собою приведе, а инѣхъ, помилова, отпусти: *бѣ бо милостивъ паче мѣры.*

По побѣдѣ же Александровѣ, яко побѣди короля, в третии годъ, в зимнее время, поиде на землю немецкую в силѣ велицѣ, да не хвалятся, ркуще: «Укоримъ Словеньскыи языкъ ниже себе».

Уже бо бѣше взятъ градъ Псковъ, и тиуны у нихъ посажени. Техъ же князь Александр изыма и градъ Псковъ свободи отъ плена. А землю ихъ повоева и пожже и полона взя бес числа, а овѣхъ иххече. Оне же, из городъ, совокупишася и рѣша: «Поидемъ побѣдимъ Александра и имемъ его рукама». Егда приближишася, и почютиша стражие. Князь же Александръ оплѣчился и поидоша противу себе, и наступиша море Чюдское обоихъ множества. Отецъ же его Ярославъ послалъ бѣ ему на помощь брата меньшаго Андрѣя въ мнозе храбрыхъ, *яко же древле у царя Давыда силнии, крѣпции. Тако и мужи Александровы исполнишася духа ратна: бяху бо сердца ихъ, акы лвомъ, и рѣша: «О княже нашъ драгыи! Нынѣ приспѣ врѣмя намъ положить главы своя за тя».* Князь же Александръ, *воздвѣ рущь на небо, и рече: «Суди, Боже, и разсуди прю мою отъ языка вельрѣчна и помози ми, Боже, яко же древле Моисѣви на Амалика и прадѣду моему Ярославу на окааннаго Святополка».*<sup>58</sup>

*Бѣ же тогда день суботный, възходясю солнцю, съступишася обои. И бысть съча зла и трускъ отъ копий молчениа и звукъ отъ мечнаго съчениа, яко же морю померзшю двинути; не бѣ видѣти леду; покры бо ся кровию.*

<sup>57</sup> възгра changed to възградиша in Лв. End of Лв.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Exodus 6: 26; Psalms 34: 1–2.

Си же слышахъ отъ самовидца, иже рече ми, яко видѣхъ полкъ Божию на въздушъ, пришедши на помощь Александрови. И побѣди я помощию Божею, и даша патнии плеща своя и спсашуть я, гоняще, яко по аеру, и не бѣ камо утещи. Зде же прослави Богъ Александра предъ всѣми полкъ, яко Исуса Наввина у Ерегона. А иже рече: «Имемъ Александра руками», сего дастъ ему Богъ в руцѣ его. И не обрѣтется противникъ ему въ брани никогда же. Возвратися князь Александръ с побѣдою славною. Бяше множество полону в полку его, ведяхуть босы подле конии, иже именуются рыдали.

И яко же приближися князь къ граду Пскову, игумени же и попове и весь народъ срътоша предъ градомъ, подающе хвалу Богови и славу господину князю Александру, поюще пѣснь: «Пособивыи, господи, кроткому Давыду побѣдити иноплемьники и вѣрному князю нашему оружиемъ крестнымъ свободити градъ Плесковъ отъ иноязычникъ рукою Александровою».

«О, невѣмъ ласи плесковичи! Аще се забудете и до правнучатъ Александровыхъ, уподобитесь Жидомъ, ихъ же препита господь в пустыни манною и крастелми печеными, и сихъ всѣхъ забыша Бога своего, изведшаго я изъ работы Египетския».

И нача слыти имя его по свѣмъ странамъ и до моря Египетскаго, и до горъ Араратскихъ, и обону страну моря Варяжскаго, и до великаго Рима.

В то же время умножися языкъ Литовскій и начаша пакостити волости Александровѣ. Онъ же, выездя, и нача избивати я. Единою клютися ему выехати, и побѣди 7 ратии единѣмъ выездомъ, множество князеи ихъ ихби, а овѣхъ руками изыма; слугы же его, ругающесе, вязахуть я къ хвостомъ коней своихъ. И начаша блюстися имени его.

[A-1] В то же время некто царь силенъ на Вѣсточнѣи странѣ, *etu aē bē Bogw pokorilw mnogia ōzyki, otw vwstoka daaē i do zapada*. Ты же царь, слышавъ Александра тако славна и храбра, посла к нему послы и рече: «Александре, вѣси ли, яко Богъ покори ми многы языки. Ты ли единъ не хочещи покороитесе силе моеи? Но аще хочещи съблюсти землю свою, то скоро прииди къ мнѣ, и да узриши честь царства моего».

[C-1] Князь же Александръ прииде во Володимиръ по умиртвию отца своего в силѣ велицѣ. И бысть грозенъ приездъ его, и промчеса вѣсть и до усть Волы. И начаша жены

моавитъскыя полошати дѣти своя, рекуще: «Александръ едетъ!»

**[B-1]** Съдумавъ же князь Александръ, и благослови его епископъ Кирилъ, и поиде к цареви.

**[A-2]** И видѣвъ его царь Батый, и подивися, и рече велможамъ своимъ: «Воистинну ми поведаша, яко нѣсть подобна сему князю». Почъстивъ же и честно, отпусти и.

**[C-2]** И потомъ же разнѣвася царь Батый на брата его, меньшаго Андрѣя, и посла воеводу своего Невруя повоева землю Суждальскую. По плънении же Невыеве князь великыи Александръ церкви въздвигнувъ, грады исполнивъ, люди распуженыя събра в дома своя. О таковыхъ бо рече Исаи пророкъ: «Князь благъ въ странахъ – тихъ, увѣтливъ, кротокъ, съмѣренъ – по образу Божию есть»,<sup>59</sup> не внимая богатства не презря крови праведничию, сиротъ и вдовици въ правду судя, милостилюбецъ, благъ домочадецъ своимъ и вънѣшнимъ отъ странъ приходящимъ кормитель. На таковыя Богъ призираетъ: Богъ бо не ангеломъ любитъ, но человекомъ си щедря ущедряетъ и показываетъ на миръ милость свою. Распространи же Богъ землю его богатствомъ и славою, и удовлѣжи Богъ лѣта ему.

**[B-2]** Нѣкогда же приидоша къ нему послы отъ папы, из великого Рима, ркуще: «Папа нашъ тако глаголетъ: “Слышахомъ ты князя честна и дивна, и земля твоя велика. Сего ради послахомъ к тобѣ отъ двоюнадесять кординалу два хытреша – Агалда да и Гълмонта, да послушаеши учения ихъ о законъ Божий”». Князь же Александръ, здумавъ съ мудреци своими, въсписа к нему и рече: «Отъ Адама до потопа, отъ потопа до разделения языкъ, до начая Авраамля, отъ Авраама до проитиа Исраиля сквозе Чермное море, отъ исхода сыновъ Исраилевъ до умертвия Давыда царя, отъ начала царствия Соломона до Августа и до Христова рожества, отъ рожестве Христова до страсти и воскресения господня, отъ възскресения же его и до възшествова на небеца, отъ възшествова на небеса до царства Константинова, отъ начала царства Костянтинова до первого собора, отъ первого собора до седмаго – си вся добръ съвьдаемъ, а отъ васъ учения не приимаемъ». Они же възвратишася въсвояси. И умножишася дни живота его. Бѣ бо церьелюбецъ и мѣниголюбецъ и нищия любя, митрополита же и

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Isaiah 1: 16, 17, 23; 56: 1–2.



епископы чтяше и аки самого творца.

**[С-3]** Бѣ же тогда нужда велика отъ поганыхъ: погнахуть христианъ, веляще с собою воинствовати. Князь же великий Александръ поиде к цареви, давы отмоли людий отъ бѣды.

**[В-3]** А сына своего Дмитрия посла на Западныя страны, и вся полъкы своя посла с нимъ, и ближнихъ своихъ домочадець, рекши к нимъ: «Служите сынови моему, акы самому мнѣ, всѣмъ животомъ своимъ». Поиде Ярославъ с сыновыцимъ своимъ в силь велицъ, и плъвиша градъ Юрьевъ, и възвратишася въсвои съ многымъ полономъ и с великою честью.

**[А-3]** Князь великий Александръ взыде отъ иноплеменникъ и доеди Новагорода Нижняго и ту пребывъ мало здравъ, дошедъ Городца, разболѣся.

О, горѣ тобѣ, бѣдныи человеце! Како можеша написати кончину господина своего! Как не испадета ти зѣници вкупѣ съ слезами! Како же не урвется сердце горкыя тугы! Отца бо человекъ можетъ, а добра господина не мощно оставити: аще бы лѣзъ, и въ гробъ бы лѣзлъ с нимъ!

Пострада же Богови крѣпко, остави же земное царство и бысть мнихъ: бѣ бо желание его паче мѣры ангельскаго образа. Сподоби же его Богъ болии чинъ приати – скину. И тако Господеву духъ свои предасть, с миромъ месяца ноября въ 14 день, на память святого апостола Филиппа.

Митрополитъ же Кирилъ глаголаше: «Чада моя, разумѣйте, яко уже заиде солнце земли Суздальской!» Иерѣи и диаconi, черноризцы, нищии и богати, и вси людие глаголаашу: «Уже погыбаемъ!».

Святое же тѣло его понесоша къ граду Володимѣрю. Митрополитъ же князи и бояре, и весь народъ, малии и велици, срѣтоша и въ Боголюбивѣмъ съ свѣщами и с кандилы. Народи же сънатахутся, хотяще прикоснутися честнѣмъ одрѣ святого тѣла его. Бысть же вопль и кричанье, и туга, яко же нѣсть была, тако, я и земли потрястися. Положено же бысть тѣло его въ Рождестве святыя Богородица, въ архимандритѣ велицѣ, месяца ноября въ 24, на память святого отца Амфилогія

Бысть же тогда чудо дивно и памяти достойно. Егда убо положено бысть святое тѣло его в раку, тогда Савастиянъ икономъ и Кирилъ митрополитъ хотя посяти ему руку, да

*вложить ему грамоту душевную. Онъ же самъ, акы живъ суици, распротеръ руку свою и взять грамоту отъ руки митрополита. И приять же я ужастъ, и едва отступиша оъ раки его.*

*Се же бысть слышано всѣмъ отъ господина митрополита и отъ иконома его Савастияна.*

*Кто не удивится о семъ, яко тѣмъ бездушну суици и везому отъ далнихъ градъ в зимное время! И тако прослави Богъ угодника своего.*

## Appendix B

### English Translation of Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Military Tale about Alexander Nevskii

That same year [6771] Grand Prince Alexander, son of Iaroslav, passed away. Let us speak [about] his courage and life as I have heard it from my fathers, as well as that which I was an eyewitness to while growing up.

Prince Alexander was born from a father Grand Prince Iaroslav, and from a mother Theodosia. He was taller than other men, and his voice as a trumpet reached the people. His bravery was like that of the Roman emperor Vespasian, who conquered the entire Judean land. Once, during the siege of the city of Jotapata, the burghers of the city sallied forth and defeated his regiment, and he remained alone. But he still chased their force to the city gates and thereafter he jeered at his own retinue and reproached them, saying: “You left me alone.”

So also was the Prince Alexander: he used to defeat [others] but was never defeated. Once, because of this, a certain powerful man, whose name was Andreas, of those who call themselves “the servants of God,” came from the Western Country for he wanted to see the marvel in the fullness of his life. He saw Prince Alexander, returned to his people, and told them: “I traveled through many countries and saw many people, but I have never met such a king among kings, nor such a prince among princes.”

Hearing about the courage of Prince Alexander, the king of the Roman part of the Northern Country, thought to himself, “I will go and conquer Alexander’s land.” And he gathered a great force and filled numerous ships with his regiments and he moved forth with great strength being inspired by a martial spirit. He came to the river Neva and, being carried away with madness, sent his envoys, filled with pride, to Prince Alexander in Novgorod, saying, “If you are able to resist me then [do so for] I am here already conquering your land.”

Upon hearing these words, Alexander's heart burned and he led his small retinue against them, not waiting for the large force. It is a pity to hear that his honorable father, Iaroslav the Great, did not know of such an attack on his son, dear Alexander. Alexander did not have time to send news to his father for already the enemy was approaching. Even many Novgorodians had not joined him because the prince had already set out against them. He decided to go against them in the sixth hour of the day. There was a great battle with the Romans, and he killed a numerous amount of them. On the face of this king, he left a mark with his sharp spear. Here six brave men appeared.

The first was Gabriel by name, son of Alexis. He attacked a ship and, seeing there the royal prince sword in hand, he rode onto the gangway. Everyone escaped from the king back to the ship, but thereafter they turned and threw him and his horse from the gangway into the water. He got out of the water uninjured, charged them again and fought with the general, himself, among his troop.

The second, a Novgorodian Sbyslav by name, son of Iakun, on several occasions charged their troop and fought only with a battle-ax, not having fear in his heart. And several fell from his hand. The people marveled at his power and his bravery.

The third, Iakov, a man from a Polotsk clan, was the prince's huntsman. He charged the troop with a sword, and the prince praised him.

The fourth one was a Novgorodian, Misha by name, who fought on foot in the stream against the ships. He destroyed three of the ships with his detachment.

The fifth, also from his young [men], Savva by name, entered into a large, royal golden-crowned tent and cut the tent pole. When Alexander's regiments saw the tent fall, they were joyful.

The sixth, also from his servitors, Ratmir by name fought on foot and was encircled by many. He fell from many wounds several times and subsequently died. All this I have heard from my Grand Prince lord Alexander and from others who at that time took part in that battle.

In the second year after the return of Prince Alexander with his victory, they came once more from the Western Country and built a town on Alexander's patrimony. Prince Alexander went quickly against it and razed the town to its foundations. Some of the enemy were executed and others were taken prisoner.

In the third year following Alexander's victory, when he defeated the king, in the winter, Alexander went with a great force against the German land, "Let them not boast saying, 'Part of the Slavic nation is beneath us.'" They had already taken Pskov town and installed their agents. Grand prince

Alexander Iaroslavich captured them and freed Pskov town from bondage. And he waged war against and set fire to their land. He took numerous prisoners and cut others to pieces. In the towns, they got together and said, “Let us go and subdue Alexander and take him with [our] hands.”

When they approached, the guards saw them. Prince Alexander drew up his regiments and went against [their] warriors. And when they came to Lake Chud there were many soldiers on both sides. His father Iaroslav sent him help [in the form of] his younger brother Andrei along with many brave men.

Prince Alexander returned from the victory with great glory. There were a multitude of prisoners accompanying his regiment. They who called themselves knights were walking shoeless next to the horses. When the prince approached Pskov town, the entire population met him in front of the town glorifying lord Prince Alexander.

And they began to hear his name throughout all countries, up to the sea of Egypt, to Mount Ararat, and on both sides of the Varangian Sea, and to Great Rome.

At that time, the Lithuanian nation was increasing and they began to sack Alexander’s territory. Going out against them, he began to defeat them. During one campaign, he defeated seven armies, killed many of their princes, and captured others. Mocking them, his servants tied them to the tails of their horses. And, they began to be aware of his name.

At that time, there was a powerful khan of the Eastern Country. That khan, hearing of the glory and courage of Alexander, sent him envoys, saying, “Alexander, do you not know that God has submitted many nations to me? You are the only one who is not willing to submit to my power. But if you want to save your land, then come soon to me and you will see the honor of my khanate.”

Having given due thought, Prince Alexander went to the khan. Upon seeing him, the Khan Batu marveled and said to his dignitaries: “I was told the truth—that there is no other like this prince.” Bestowing on him honor, he let him go.

The great Prince Alexander went from the foreign people to Nizhnii Novgorod and stayed there a few days in good health, but when he reached Gorodets, he became ill. Woe to you, poor man. How are you able to describe the passing of your lord? How do your eyes not fall out with tears? How does your heart not break from bitter straits? A man may leave his father, but cannot leave a good lord, and if need be, he lies with him in the grave.